/152 cont./

574 *[192] He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character: they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

829 15) Theft.

• 577 Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

/153 cont./
829 pathological cases of kleptomania) (20)
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> 20. In some cases, because of the precociousness of the thief, the frequency and the circumstances of the theft, it is legitimate to think that it is a matter of kleptomania.

something of his, especially what might be useful to him in life, or, if he cannot do that, he damages something in order to cause him injury.

And perhaps there is yet another stimulus for the theft: the fact that he considers himself more ingenious and cunning than the white, the latter, in order to avoid friction with the Indians, having to close one eye, as though he had not preceived the cunning of the Indian. It is a vicious circle, inevitable in those places and circumstances. The traveler pretends he does not see, and this attitude plants even more deeply in the Indian the conviction that he is slier than the civilized, and he feels spurred on to make sport of him. The civilized person, for this reason, must always keep a close watch on his own luggage, which, even so, will not infrequently be stolen (21).

> 21. The tendency to steal and the skill with which they do it, never followed by repentance, are so great that we were assailed by the doubt that might they not by chance judge it to be lawful and good, at the least, to steal from the whites. We asked two natives who merited more of our confidence, and both affirmed that they consider stealing from anyone, whoever it might be, a bad thing. Nevertheless, another of our best helpers stated to us that to steal from their brothers is a bad thing, but to rob the civilized is a good thing!

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• 577 They take objects from their own companions. Thefts will be rarer, because life more or less in common restrains or eliminates the impulses toward certain thefts. The attacks on the clearing or the cacurí /fish trap/ of others are frequent. They show shame when they are surprised. If he is not, he denies the theft. Or, confronted with the evidence, he will say: "I took, I did not steal." While the injured one says: -- "He robbed me." One notes a preponderant tendency, almost enslaving, to steal edibles. He ordinarily reveals in the thefts amazing /154/ cunning. Especially in the thefts from the other Indians he abstains from taking anything that might easily identify him. He always takes timely precautions, in the act of stealing as well as afterwards, to hide the corpus delicti; for example, the little girls steal needles and hide them in the hard layer of the soles of their feet.

He rebels when he is forced to make restitution; especially if he must do so to the civilized. He will do it more readily for the tuxaua, who orders him to make restitution whenever he wants to stay friendly with the white. In a different way, especially if he likes the thief, he will say haughtily: -- "There is no thief in the maloca" (22).

22. If they perform these very rare acts of restoration, it can be affirmed that, as a rule, they do not restore the thing stolen, nor do they give proper indemnification. From the moral point of view, it seems legitimate to conclude that they do not have any intention of making restitution or of abstaining from stealing.

123 16) Lying -- Not keeping one's word -- Simulation.
577 The love of the truth that has been noted among some primitives is not the strong point of these Indians of ours. He often answers, falsely, the inquires asked of him: "I do not know," "I did not see." Vice versa, they give information about what they do not know. And the other Indians present do not correct

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/154 cont./ the inaccurate information. For example, they do not like to sell their dance ornaments and regularly affirm that they do not have them. If one asks whether there is anybody sick in the povoado, he will invariably answer no, although in reality there is. One cannot even think, in these and other cases, that there was a mental reservation. Would there be, in the case of the sick ones, some reason of a magic nature? We were not able to find out, in spite of many inquiries in different circumstances and places. They pass to a second and third party the thing stolen, in order to hide it. They never denounce the others, except to defend themselves. Not infrequently we caught them in contradictions (23).

23. In April of 1954 a young woman from Pari-cachoeira described to us her puberty initiation rite with all clarity and indication of details. In June of that same year, speaking casually about the subject, she started to deny that there was Komũ (cf. VIII-1, b (7)) or "blower" in her povoado and that she had gone through the initiation. -- Have you forgotten that you already told everything? Don't be bashful ... we told her. Then she smiled, confirmed and completed the description made in April.

If we make this evident to them, they are silent. Silence is a defense and weapon that they frequently use against the civilized and his arguments. They are "born liars" was the expression used by two persons who for several /155/ years lived with these Indians. Not infrequently he maintains his lie even before the most evident proofs.

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577 Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

[797] The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,